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DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

MFG. 1-72

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EXDIS

SUBJ: SALT TWO: NATO CONSULTATIONS AND FRG PAPER

1. SUMMARY: MENNE (FONOFF DIRECTOR, GENERAL/STRATEGIC DISARMAMENT) DISCUSSED FRG PAPER ON SALT TWO DEC 13 WITH EMBOFF, PRELIMINARY TO DEC 14 MEETING OF INFORMAL PERTRIGNANI GROUP AND TO DEC 15 CONSULTATIONS WITH US AT NATO. HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

2. MENNE INDICATED, AS REPORTED BONN 15434, THAT FRG GRATIFIED BY US APPROACH TO SALT TWO OUTLINED IN STATE 204981. WHILE GERMAN PAPER DISCUSSES SOVIET PROPOSALS CONCERNING FBS, FOREIGN BASES, NON-TRANSFER/NON-CIRCUMVENTION, ALLIED SLBM'S AND NON-USE OF FORCE, MENNE MADE CLEAR THAT FRG ATTENTION IS FOCUSED MOST SHARPLY ON FBS AND US BASES IN EUROPE. CAREFUL (AS OPPOSED TO BROAD, VAGUE SOVIET) FORMULATIONS FOR NON-TRANSFER OR NON-CIRCUMVENTION COULD, GIVEN APPROPRIATE COUNTER-CONCESSIONS, EVENTUALLY BE ACCEPTABLE TO FRG. THE GERMANS WILL LET THE UK AND FRANCE TAKE THE LEAD ON THE ALLIED SLBM ISSUE; BONN DOES NOT CONSIDER THE "NON-USE" ISSUE TO BE CURRENT AT THIS TIME.

3. THE MAIN EMPHASIS IN THE FRG PAPER, UNDERScoreD BY MENNE, IS THE INDIVISIBILITY OF ALLIED DEFENSE IN COUNTER-DISTINCTION TO THE SOVIET PREMISE THAT STRATEGIC

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STABILITY IS WHOLLY A FUNCTION OF THE SECURITY OF THE TWO SALT PARTNERS. IN THIS CONNECTION, MENNE (AND THE FRG PAPER) EXPLICITLY CITED ARTICLE 5 OF THE NATO TREATY AND THE FALLACY IN THE SOVIET DEFINITION OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS IN CONNECTION WITH FBS.

4. MENNE SAID THE PURPOSE OF THIS INITIAL FRG PAPER IS TO PROVIDE THE US WITH EFFECTIVE ARGUMENTATION AGAINST SOVIET DESIDERATA DURING EARLY PHASES OF THE BILATERAL SALT-TWO NEGOTIATIONS. ONCE SALT-TWO PASSES TO A PHASE OF "SUBSTANTIAL BARGAINING," THE FRG MAY PRESENT A PAPER IDENTIFYING ESSENTIAL GERMAN NATIONAL INTERESTS AND CORRESPONDING AREAS OF NON-NEGOTIABILITY. WHEN INITIAL US PREFERRED SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS BECOME KNOWN TO BONN, THE FRG WILL OFFER ITS THINKING ON POSSIBLE PACKAGE DEALS, INCLUDING WESTERN CONCESSIONS, AS WELL AS POSSIBLE DRAFTING FORMULATIONS. IN SHORT THE FRG INTENDS A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN CONSULTATIONS ON SALT-TWO THAN IN SALT-ONE.

5. MENNE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE DEC 15 MORNING CONSULTATIONS WITH US PROBABLY WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY AN AFTERNOON MEETING OF SALT EXPERTS FROM THE FIFTEEN NATO MEMBER STATES. HE CONSIDERED THIS PROCEDURE PREFERABLE TO IMMEDIATELY RECONVENING THE PETRIGNANI GROUP AFTER THE MEETING WITH US REPS.

XGDS-1. CASH

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